

of both countries to rebuild their economies and improve the standard of living for the people, something that obviously has not been the case for either India or Pakistan. Urging them to sign the treaty would be one step in the right direction. Treaty ratification is also a necessary step for restricting the flow of nuclear technology, from these emerging nuclear powers and nations worldwide.

I urge Senator LOTT to take up consideration of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and I urge all of my Senate colleagues to vote for a ban on nuclear testing by the United States. The United States must lead by example. We did not do enough to prevent the nuclear tests by India or Pakistan, and now we must do more to ensure that further testing is halted in South Asia and throughout the world. President Clinton is scheduled to travel to China and South Asia later this year. I believe such a diplomatic mission is extremely timely and must include visits to China, India and Pakistan for the distinct purpose of discussing global security in light of the round of nuclear capacity testing in the region. I encourage my Senate colleagues to support the President in this endeavor.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, June 2, 1998]

REASONS TO RATIFY, NOT TO STALL

(By Sidney D. Drell)

STANFORD, Calif.—The nuclear tests by India and Pakistan have led some in the United States Senate to seek further delay on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, which has already been awaiting ratification for more than a year and a half. Senator Trent Lott of Mississippi, the majority leader, said on Friday that “the nuclear spiral in Asia demonstrates that irrelevance of U.S. action” on the treaty, calling the pact “unverifiable and ineffectual.”

To the contrary, the treaty’s international monitoring system, when used in combination with our own intelligence resources, provides the means to verify the test ban effectively. Moreover, a quick vote in the Senate approving the treaty is an essential response to the South Asian nuclear gambit.

While it is true that American intelligence failed to provide imminent warning of India’s first three nuclear tests on May 11, we were well aware that the technical preparations had been made for testing. Furthermore, the global network of seismic sensors that will form the core of the treaty’s verification system did detect, locate and identify the main nuclear blast that day.

It is evident that the system also proved effective in detecting Pakistan’s tests, both on Thursday and on Saturday. And the treaty calls for the monitoring system to be beefed up. Also, the treaty would allow us to request a short-notice, on-site suggesting that a nuclear weapons test might have occurred.

India has claimed that its last two announced tests, on May 13, had very low yields, in the subkiloton range. Whether or not we succeed in corroborating possible tests of such relatively small magnitude, we need to remember that very low yield tests are of questionable value in designing new nuclear weapons or confirming that a new design will work as intended. Any failure by the monitors to detect such tests is not the proper benchmark for determining the system’s—or the treaty’s—effectiveness.

I know from my own work for the Director of Central Intelligence, George Tenet, that the existing monitoring system did the job last summer, detecting a “seismic event” off Novaya Zemlya in Russia and eventually helping to determine that it was not from a nuclear test. Our intelligence services are rightly assigned the task of monitoring for nuclear explosions, with or without the treaty. But with the treaty, additional sensors would be deployed in a global network that would complement our own intelligence. Some of these additional sensors would be “aimed” at the subcontinent. And with the treaty, we could request onsite inspection of suspicious activities.

The test ban treaty—which has already been signed by 149 nations and ratified by our nuclear allies, Britain and France—provides the legal framework for a long-term solution to the problem of nuclear testing in India and Pakistan. The best way for these two nations to begin addressing the international condemnation and sanctions that have resulted from their tests is for them to sign the treaty, without condition. Senate ratification would strengthen our hand in pushing India and Pakistan toward a responsible course, and it would help dissuade other states from going down the dangerous road of developing nuclear weapons.

Senator Lott also expressed concern that the treaty “will not enter into force unless 44 countries, including India and Pakistan, ratify it.” Precisely for this reason, Article 14 of the treaty calls for a review conference in September 1999 to look for ways to put the treaty into effect if it has not been approved by all 44 nuclear-capable nations (i.e., those with nuclear weapons or with nuclear reactors for research or power).

Only those nations that have ratified will have a seat at that conference. Thus the United States must ratify the treaty this year if we are to be a leader, as we must be, in an effort to put the treaty into force.

Previous Senates have shown that they can act quickly and courageously on such matters. When President John F. Kennedy submitted the Limited Test Ban Treaty to the Senate in 1963, the Foreign Relations Committee held its first hearing four days later, and the treaty was approved by the full Senate in less than two months.

Yet in the wake of the Indian and Pakistani tests, it would appear that the Senate will not act even to bring the treaty to a vote. Inaction will not help to deter further nuclear tests or reduce nuclear dangers. Rather than pointing to India’s and Pakistan’s tests as an excuse for inaction, the Senate should be approving the treaty without delay.

Four decades ago President Dwight D. Eisenhower said that not achieving a nuclear test ban “would have to be classed as the greatest disappointment of any administration—of any decade—of any time and of any party.” It would be tragic if once more we fail to seize this opportunity. •

CONFLICT IN THE REPUBLIC OF GEORGIA

• Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, the newspapers are full of Kosovo and Serbia, of India and Pakistan and of course, Indonesia. These threatening events have captured most of the headlines and have attracted the attention of the Administration in greater or lesser degrees. These are not trivial issues, and we cannot afford to ignore their importance for challenging US interests.

But another conflict rages that, while small, challenges US interests in

ways that few other conflicts can: I am speaking of the conflict in the Republic of Georgia in the distant but strategically critical region of Abkazia.

And yet the stability in independent Georgia is one of the principal US interests in the former USSR and should be one of our overriding strategic goals. This is not just sentiment for one of the earliest Christian civilizations in a part of the world where Christian civilizations do not thrive: rather it is a clear statement of our own strategic interest and objectives.

Georgia is a NATO borderland and an entry point to the emerging new Silk Road. It is a key ally of our partner Turkey and is important in many ways: strategically, militarily, commercially. If Georgia were to become unstable, the entire region would be put in jeopardy.

Against overwhelming odds, Georgia has achieved strong positive economic growth in the last few years. It is one of the most stable of the post-Soviet states, with world-class leadership in President Eduard Shevardnadze. It is America’s natural ally in a neighborhood that features Iran and Iraq.

Georgia is central to the successful development of what the new Silk Road from Central Europe to China. This ambitious project will eventually encompass pipelines, roads and railroads, airports and communications networks that stretch from Central Europe to China. This corridor will completely alter the economics and the politics of Eurasia in ways that we cannot now foresee, but which are certain to intersect US strategic interests in Eurasia in many places. The states of the Caucasus—Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia—lie at the very center of this new Silk Road. For the corridor to function, stability in these states is essential.

Not surprisingly, some people wish ardently to jeopardize America’s interests in this region by threatening Georgia’s stability, and they have fastened on a perverse way of doing so, the small, break-away region of Abkazia has been Russia’s best available instrument to diminish Georgia’s accomplishments and to imperil its remarkable gains. Russia is the only power to benefit from such activity. Let us not be timid in naming the problem: Russia is the problem, the aggressor and the single-most threat to stability in Georgia and the entire Caucasus.

Since the early 1990s, Russia, acting through Abkazia, has attempted to bring down Georgia. This is no secret. Virtually every expert to travel to the region reports the same thing: Russia is responsible for arming, training and sustaining Abkazia’s so-called freedom fighters. Russia’s support for the pro-Russian Abkazian leadership is barely disguised: Russia has funneled arms and support for more than six years into the Abkaz region of Georgia for one specific task: to destabilize the government of Eduard Shevardnadze so that Georgia will be unable to realize

its goals of being independent, of joining the community of free democratic nations, and of providing better lives—free lives—for the people of Georgia.

It is high time the Administration took a strong position on the subject of the Caucasus and of Georgia in particular. So far, it has not only failed to reign in Russian efforts against Georgia, but by this very failure, it has insured that the Russian-promoted destabilization efforts will continue.

Administration apathy on this subject is best illustrated by the astonishing lack of urgency that the State Department ascribes to placing qualified and dynamic ambassadors in these countries. Georgia has been without a U.S. ambassador for well over six months. No candidate has yet been identified, let alone brought to the Senate for confirmation, despite persistent and forceful requests by President Shevardnadze and other key leaders in Georgia for such an appointment.

The Administration has also been supporting the Russian "mediation" of the Abkazi conflict; this policy must be reversed. Russian "mediation" consists of injecting Russian peacekeepers into the region to separate the Georgian and Abkazi combatants. Their behavior in the recent fighting in Abkazia shows their true intentions: the best case scenario shows that the Russian peacekeeping forces did nothing to interdict the flow of separatist personnel and heavy weaponry into the region where the fighting was taking place. The worst case scenario has them actually providing weapons to the Abkazi combatants. This is unacceptable.

Allowing continued Russian control over this situation is tantamount to inserting the fox's first cousin as a mediator between the foxes and the hens. The current situation insures that Georgia can only lose. It is time for the Administration to demand the removal of the bogus Russian peacekeepers, and to insist on their replacement by an independent force of peacekeepers. To do less is to acknowledge implicitly that Georgia remains within Russia's sphere of control.

This matter also raises the issue of the continued presence of Russian military bases in Georgia. They are there despite the overwhelming opposition of Georgian citizens. These bases were established at a time when Georgia was in no position to repulse Russian advances. Russia has no legitimate national security claim on Georgia. Russia is no less safe—indeed it is safer—with a Georgia that is free, independent, democratic and with free markets close to its southern border. These bases—from which the perpetrators of the assassination attempts on President Shevardnadze are reported to have fled—must be closed. The United States must not accept the notion that Georgian independence can only be secured by Russian power. Nothing could be more alien to the truth and to our national values.

Mr. President, it is time for the Administration to state unequivocally that the stability and survival of an independent Georgia is a fundamental U.S. interest. That Russia's collusion with the Abkazi is nothing less than Moscow's effort to maintain control over sovereign Georgia and will not be tolerated; and that it is time to put an end to Russian Trojan horses in Georgia—the phony Russian "peacekeepers" and the military bases that provide Russia with the means to threaten Georgia's future and to put U.S. interests at risk.●

TRIBUTE TO LAHAINALUNA HIGH SCHOOL OF MAUI, HAWAII

● Mr. AKAKA. Mr. President, I rise today to congratulate the students from Lahainaluna High School from Lahaina, Maui, who recently came to Washington, D.C., to participate in the national competition of We the People . . . The Citizens and the Constitution.

As you may know, We the People . . . The Citizen and the Constitution is a civic education program which seeks to develop young students into enlightened and capable citizens who understand and promote responsible participation in our democratic process. Students learn the history and principles behind our constitutional democracy through the use of the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, and the Bill of Rights.

These young students competed against 49 other classes from across the Nation, demonstrating a youthful and enthusiastic interest in the fundamental ideas that are imperative for gaining a better understanding of our government. We the People is not only a competitive event, but it is also the most extensive civics program to reach more than 26 million students from elementary, middle, and high schools across the country.

I would like to recognize these fine students for their accomplishments: Iao Eisenberg, Tiffany Fujiwara, Jasmine Hentz, Erin Lockhard, William Myers, Leah Nakamura, Ryan Ott, Michael Prieto, Julie Reed, Sal Saribay, Justin Serrano, Jeffrey Shelton, Yee Ning Tay, and Kerri Tsubaki. I would also like to acknowledge the contributions of their teacher, Mrs. Ruth E. Hill, and the District and State Coordinators, Ms. Jane Kinoshita and Ms. Sharon Kaohi, respectively. Without their dedication and leadership, our students would be unable to participate in this important program.

Mr. President, I commend all the students and teachers who participated in this program, and particularly the students of Lahainaluna High School who represented Hawaii in the national competition. It is always heartwarming to see students actively engaged in the learning process. I wish the students and teacher of Lahainaluna High School the best as they continue to pursue their future endeavors.●

TRIBUTE TO THE MARSH BILLINGS NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK

● Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, June 5, 1998, is a great day for Vermont and for the Nation as we open Vermont's first, and the Nation's newest, National Historic Park. On behalf of all Vermonters I want to welcome the National Park Service and express my deepest gratitude to Laurence and Mary Rockefeller for making this possible.

Vermonters have always drawn a special strength from the land. And as Vermonters, we have a responsibility to the land. I was proud to introduce for myself, Senator LEAHY and all Vermonters, the legislation that created this National Historic Park in 1991. A perfect "Vermont scale" National Park, its size fits our State's landscape, incorporating many of the most significant attributes about Vermont: our stewardship of the working agricultural and forest landscapes, our dedication to conservation, and our commitment and respect for our towns and communities.

Mr. President, the beauty and significance of this site will now forever receive the same recognition as our other great National Parks, such as Yellowstone, Grand Teton, and Gettysburg.

George Perkins Marsh, Frederick Billings, and Laurence Rockefeller's devotion and commitment to the issues of conservation, forest management, and agriculture have helped develop this nation's attitudes for how we treat and respect our lands. Private land owners throughout the country have followed the example of these distinguished leaders. Today, those who work and own the land, and hold true to the ideals of Marsh and Billings, are this Nation's most important stewards. The preservation and conservation of the Nation's working landscape, and historic and natural resources are increasingly important and yet are becoming more difficult to maintain. The Marsh Billings National Park will forever serve Vermont and the Nation as a model for conservation.

I salute Mary and Laurence Rockefeller for their vision in providing this park to the people of Vermont and the United States. The Rockefeller family has given future generations of Vermonters, indeed all Americans, access to a truly historic and beautiful site. This is only the most recent accomplishment in Mr. Rockefeller's more than 50 years of conservation leadership. Laurence Rockefeller was the first person ever awarded a Congressional Gold Medal for conservation work, and that award was richly deserved. I am proud to have been an original cosponsor of the legislation that granted him the award.

Mr. President, the people of Woodstock and the entire State of Vermont have lived a long time in harmony with the landscape. Our first national park not only recognizes the two founders of the American conservation movement,